The United States of the World

An Utopian Essay towards a Better Ordering of the Affairs of Men

By

"TRYGAEUS"

LONDON
GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LTD.
BROADWAY HOUSE, CARTER LANE, E.C.

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HYMN TO PEACE

Λῦσον δὲ μάχας καὶ κορκορυγάς
ἵνα Λυσιμάχην σε καλῶμεν
παῦσον δ' ἡμῶν τὰς ὑπονοίας
τὰς περικόμψους
αἷς στωμυλλόμεθ' εἰς ἀλλήλους
μῖξον δ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
φιλίας χυλῷ καὶ συγγνώμῃ
τινὶ πραοτέρᾳ κέρασον τὸν νοῦν.

ARISTOPHANES, Pax.

Translation

O thou that makest wars to cease
Make now an end of battles and tumults,
That we may call thee by thy name.
Stop our subtle suspicions with which we
chatter and vex one another.
Mix us anew
From the beginning
In the loving cup of friendship,
And infuse our minds with a more gentle
spirit of forgiveness.

PREFACE

After the horrid swarm of evils had escaped from Pandora's box there fluttered out last of all Iris-winged Hope, to be a solace to afflicted mortals. So at the end of this period of infinite misery and suffering, which will be known as The Great War, Hope will again enter the hearts of the men who have played their part in the struggle, and they will insist that the settlement shall be such that neither they nor their children, nor yet their children's children, shall be called upon to endure the unspeakable torture of war. A settlement which will permanently end war and establish peace on earth and goodwill among men will be the only fitting monument for the countless brave who have laid down their lives for their country.

It is necessary that this tendency, which exists now merely as a vague but powerful feeling among

men who have experienced the realities of war, should find articulate expression before the time for making peace comes. A definite plan must be evolved by discussion.

Such, therefore, must be my excuse for this pamphlet, which does not aspire to give a new solution of the pressing problem, but aims merely at stimulating discussion by a restatement of human ideals. An ordinary diplomatic peace, with its legacy of international hatred and its odour of armaments and preparations for the next war, would mean that the unfathomable grief and suffering and the measureless sacrifice had been in vain. If no agreement for disarmament is reached, the knowledge that victory lies in munitions will lay so intolerable a burden on the nations that all hope for better conditions of life will be indefinitely postponed. The false idols whose worship has led humanity to shipwreck must be cast down, and the true religion of brotherly love be exalted on high.

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PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS

THAT modern war is a horrible and sickening business is almost universally acknowledged by all who have taken part in it. It is really not fighting but murder by machinery. But is not fighting a necessary part of the constitution of the world? Do not all living things fight for existence? Though the world has still room for a much larger population, and there are as yet many deserts, and waste lands which could be reclaimed, and swamps and lakes which could be drained, nevertheless it is obvious that the natural rate of increase of the human race proceeding in geometric progression would eventually overcrowd the world. It may be argued, then, that war is an obvious necessity, and a law of nature.

Were we unthinking brute beasts this would be so, but then war would proceed between

individuals ruthlessly, so that the stronger individual would kill the weaker. The population would be kept down, but the quality of the race would be kept up. However, men tend more and more to be guided by conscious thought, though, unfortunately, the process is far from complete, and we remain "mixed animals, part lowly, part sublime."* Modern war combines the bestial and intelligent elements in such a way as to do the maximum of damage to the race. If we were beasts we should kill off the weaker specimens, but being partially intelligent beings we use our intelligence to organise the killing of the strong on the largest possible scale, while we carefully preserve the weaklings. If the necessity for killing is made, it is an argument rather for anarchy than for organised war between large states.

The alternative would be to deal with excessive population when the problem arose by conscious action; for example, by the limitation of marriage

* Μικτὰ ζῶα ταπεινώσεως καὶ μεγέθους.—Greek funeral service

to the more fit. This method is superior to modern war in the following points:—

1. It avoids the terrible suffering and grief caused by war.
2. It improves, while modern war deteriorates, the race.
3. The whole of the energy employed in war and the preparation for war is set free for useful works. This energy, if well directed, would enable the whole life of mankind to be made more beautiful and sweeter. Deserts would bloom, and hideous industrial areas would become cities of beauty and refinement.

The foregoing considerations apply only to the physical and material aspects of the question. What about the moral stimulus of war? War shakes men out of their selfishness and narrow interests and makes them sacrifice all for their country. We often hear that if universal peace were established the result would be a selfish, slack, and rotten race. The moral effects of war

are very mixed: if it raises men to heights of self-sacrifice not ordinary in peace, it also leads to brutality and cruelty happily absent in peace time. Anyone who has heard the conversation of soldiers in camps knows that war is not wholly an elevating influence. The forcible herding together of a large number of men away from their families has an undoubted bad effect in many ways, and especially in their attitude to women. Another very great moral evil of war is the intense hatred which is generated when nations are struggling together for existence.

The peace which will end war will not be a negative thing—just the absence of war—but a positive ideal and system working to a definite end, viz. the fullest possible development of the human race. Such a peace will provide education and discipline for all young people; but the inspiration of the efforts and sacrifices which the youth will be called upon to make will not be the slaughter of their fellow-men, but the execution of mighty public works, the prosecution of scientific research, the rearing of noble public

buildings, and the worship of beauty through the arts.

Such objects can inspire fully as great devotion and forgetfulness of self as war. The constructive peace must be so ordered that the surplus of human energy left over after providing for subsistence shall be turned to the physical, intellectual, and moral advancement of the race, not to the private luxury, the idle amusement and dissipation of a privileged class, nor to fetish worship.

CAUSES OF WAR

In spite of all the imperfections of our social order, the brotherhood of man (long the cardinal doctrine of our religion) was very obviously the real basis of the modern social structure before the war. The division of labour had been carried so far that every individual was under obligation to countless others in all parts of the world who had taken part in providing him with the necessaries and amenities of life. The prosperity of any one country added to the prosperity of all, and the misfortunes of any one country were felt by all.

It is very curious that this obvious and well-recognised fact has not operated to prevent war, but the judgment of mankind seems to be warped by a blind worship of the fetish of perverted nationalism (or imperialism) which has obscured reason.

The present war arises chiefly from this worship

of perverted nationalism, and is really a war for supremacy, or one might say for "the donkey's shadow," for it is doubtful whether any single individual would really benefit at all if his country did gain the supremacy. Although there seems to emerge in the background the oldest and most reasonable cause for war—that is, the desire to occupy fertile land—the German desire for colonies differs from the primitive land hunger, in that it is largely mixed with imperialism and bound up with the ideal of a greater Germany. There was nothing to prevent the individual German settling in the United States, or in South America, or in any of the British Colonies; therefore the aim was not merely subsistence, but, as has been said, a national ideal.

Germany easily leads in the frenzied fanaticism of her worship of narrow national ideals, but such ideals are also worshipped, though in a lesser degree, in all European countries, being impressed on children through the whole course of their education, and this narrow nationalism is the most active present cause of war. The first work

towards peace is therefore to preach the brotherhood of man, and to replace the narrow nationalism by a true patriotism, in which pride in one's own dear country is tempered by a wider love for all mankind, in the same way that local feeling is sunk in national patriotism. In science and art the wide view already exists, and no educated man would be prejudiced by the nationality of the worker in his appreciation of scientific or artistic work, though he would desire his own country to be pre-eminent in art and science.

Land hunger has been a reasonable cause for going to war in the past. A hardy mountain race was hardly likely to stay in its hills and starve when it could come down and seize the fertile plain below. The progress of knowledge and invention has now so vastly increased the product of human labour that, given a fair and reasonable attitude of mind, there is no reason for anxiety of subsistence. It is necessary, in order to avoid disputes about land, that no nation should play the dog in the manger and hold up tracts of unoccupied land.

Another important cause of war is the oppression

of subject races. Men will readily take up arms to succour other men of their nationality who are oppressed. Any settlement, therefore, which does not secure government by consent, universally, will fail to end war.

Tariffs and Fiscal laws open a field to much injustice and friction between nations, and this problem must be faced. The ideal of universal free trade, leaving each district to produce those articles for which its natural advantages most fit it, must be kept in view as the final goal, but it will probably be found necessary to work towards this goal by gradual steps.

The various minor causes of friction between nations will cause no real difficulty, if only the great causes which have been enumerated can be overcome.

The intellectual indolence, love of excitement, and longing to escape from the dull round of labour, which make it so easy to arouse the war fever in the populace, must be combated by education and better conditions of life.

THE SETTLEMENT MUST BE UNIVERSAL

It is clear that any settlement which is to secure the world from further wars must embrace all the nations of the earth. Deep as are the divisions between the European nations, they are all of the same race, and individuals of any European nation easily consort and intermarry with members of any other European nation. There is little understanding, however, between Europeans and Asiatics, or Africans, and intermarriage is looked upon with repugnance. Already signs of future conflicts can be discerned between Japan and the United States, Japan and the British Australasian Colonies, and between Russia and China. These conflicts would arise from the desire on the part of the Asiatics to colonise thinly populated countries held by Europeans, and the objection of the said Europeans to their doing so. Representatives of all

the nations on earth must take part in the settlement. A European peace would not mean peace for the world.

Apart from detailed considerations, it is clear that disarmament is impossible if not universal. One single armed nation might hold the world to ransom.

THE SETTLEMENT MUST HAVE THE FORCE OF LAW

RECENT events have shown that little value can be attached to diplomatic agreements, as little indeed as would attach to personal contracts if there were no law to enforce them. The settlement which will secure the peace of the world must therefore take the form of setting up a central sovereign authority for the whole world, with legislative, judiciary, and executive powers in all international matters, and provided with force to compel obedience to its laws and judicial decisions.

It will be objected that the Great Powers will not be willing to thus become only semi-sovereign states. They will, however, retain full control of all their own affairs, in so far that they do not infringe the rights of other countries. The driving power for this great revolution will be found in the wave of intense feeling against the

recurrence of the terrible grief and suffering through which all the belligerent countries have passed, which will sweep away objections like straws. The world has had a bitter lesson of the fruits of the wisdom of statesmen and diplomatists, and will turn hungrily to the teaching of its prophets and philosophers,* whose teaching has too long been neglected. The industrial masses will not bear to have their hopes of better conditions of life finally shattered by a renewed race of armaments on the titanic scale which this war has shown to be necessary.

* *E.g.* Bentham and Kant.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Leaving now the preliminary considerations, we come to discuss the methods by which our ideal may be attained. When the moment to make peace comes (God send it quickly!) there should be called together a Constituent Assembly of the representatives of all the people that on earth do dwell.

The representatives must hold full authority for the work of the Assembly, which will be the making of a solemn treaty for universal peace and disarmament, and the drawing up of a constitution for the federal government of the world in all matters of international relationships, and the codification of international law.

As regards the voting power of the representatives in the Assembly, it is clear that the main resolutions which surrender part of the sovereign rights of each country must be assented to

unanimously. As to the details of the constitution, the representatives should have no difficulty in agreeing to accept the decision of the majority of the Assembly, the representatives of each country having voting power in proportion to their country's importance or population.

The delimitation of powers between the various national governments and the federal government would be a very delicate matter. There would also be the question of the federal capital and the means of enforcement of the federal laws and judicial decisions.

THE LEADING PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION

THE main idea at the root of a world constitution must be the teaching of Christ—"Love one another." The representatives of all the peoples of the earth, duly authorised and empowered thereto by the governments of each several sovereign state, would therefore first declare their belief "that the happiness of mankind lies in the honest and loving co-operation of all." From this premise they would proceed to the logical conclusion by solemnly binding themselves, each and all, not to levy war nor to maintain any armed force on land or sea (except the forces presently to be discussed), but to disband all existing armed forces and to destroy all warlike material. It follows that each country would be bound to prohibit the manufacture of weapons.

As force, which is the present method of redress

in international wrongs, is thus done away with, the Constituent Assembly must set up Law in the place of force, and the first step to having Law is to have a Sovereign as the source of Law. Each state would therefore, through its representative, surrender its authority in matters of international relationships to the Constituent Assembly, which would thus become a sovereign body, competent to legislate for the whole world as to public international law and disputes between nations. International Law would therefore become law in the ordinary sense of the term—that is, rules laid down by a sovereign and enforced by sanctions.

The independent states would have lost their independence only to the extent of surrendering their right to make war, and submitting to a code of international law made by the representatives of all humanity. No individual feels that he is not free because he must settle his quarrels in the courts, and not with a big stick, and there seems no reason why a country's real freedom should suffer by the arrangement described.

THE WORLD PARLIAMENT

THE Constituent Assembly having got so far, and being thus clothed with sovereignty, would proceed to draw up what would be a constitution of the world.

The first point to arise would be the continuance of the sovereign body, the conditions under which a state would be entitled to representation, and the method of appointment of representatives.

In view of the variety of national constitutions, it does not seem feasible in the first instance to lay down a hard and fast method of election of representatives, and this would best be left to the discretion of the various national governments. The proportion of representatives to population must be fixed, say one to each five millions (nations of less than five millions having representatives with fractional votes), and the interval between meetings be fixed. Frequent meetings are not

likely to be required, and, in any case, the suitable interval is a detail of no great moment. Four years suggests itself as reminiscent of the Olympic Games.

The question of what states shall be entitled to be considered as sovereign states, and to send representatives to the World Parliament, presents great difficulties. Many colonies and dependencies might wish to appoint their representatives independently of their mother country. It is clear that the right of populations, by a majority of, say, three-quarters, to assert their independence or change their allegiance, must be admitted. The World Parliament must itself deal with questions of change of allegiance and the creation of new independent states, and will, of course, verify the mandates of representatives. Probably little objection would be raised to self-governing colonies appointing their own representatives.

There are tracts of the earth inhabited by people having no really settled governments. These peoples are so backward in civilisation that they would hardly be missed from the world's councils

until such time as they had advanced sufficiently to have settled governments and, not being formidable from a military point of view, would readily be kept in order by the federal forces (which will be discussed later).

The question arises whether certain peoples, somewhat backward in civilisation, would not by reason of their great numbers have too large a vote in the Assembly in proportion to other more advanced, but less numerous, nations. The point might be considered whether representation should not be proportionate to the literate population, or some other test might be found.

There seems no point in including a second chamber in the constitution, and the idea of a president does not commend itself.

THE EXTENT OF THE WORLD PARLIAMENT'S POWERS

HAVING provided for the continuance of a World Parliament, and having established the principles of the right to representation, the method of appointment of representatives, and verification of mandates and the dates of meeting, the next point for discussion is the delimitation of powers between the World Parliament and the various national governments. National governments have been supposed to surrender their right to make war, and to have given to the Constituent Assembly the power of making laws to govern international relationships, and to set up a judicature to settle international disputes, in fact to promulgate a federal constitution for the world.

The jurisdiction of the judicature must necessarily extend to all international disputes, for, *ex hypothesi*, no other means of settling them will exist.

We have said that the legislative power of the World Parliament will be limited to international relationships. International law is divided under the headings of public and private. The greater part of the old Public International Law, which deals with war, neutrality, and contraband, is necessarily rendered obsolete by a settlement which does away with war. Let us attempt to indicate the limits of the new Public International Law which has to be created by the Constituent Assembly. Its subjects are as follows :—

1. Diplomacy, and the validity and due execution of treaties.

   (Treaties become contracts enforceable through the federal courts. Treaties of alliance of course disappear.)

2. The law of the high seas, which must belong to the province of the World Parliament, for the seas belong to all nations equally.

3. Questions of territory or frontiers.

4. The migration of population, and the limitation of population if it should ever become

necessary. It is clear that these questions must be left to the World Parliament, for otherwise irreconcilable disputes would be bound to arise.

5. The international status of populations which indicate their desire to change their existing status by a large majority.

6. The protection of subjects of one nation resident in the territory of another nation.

7. The local affairs of the federal capital.

8. The military and naval forces, which are to be maintained in order to enforce respect for the laws and execution of judicial decisions. The International Parliament will be the only body in the world entitled to raise armed forces.

9. The courts for the decision of international disputes, their rules and practice.

As to all these subjects, the World Parliament must be endowed with sovereign legislative power.

PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL LAW

As well as the matters which by the abolition of war fall necessarily within the province of the World Parliament, there is a whole body of questions which could most advantageously be dealt with, but as to which at the outset it would be difficult to give the World Parliament absolute power. A very convenient arrangement would be that the legislation on these subjects would only be binding on those states which assented to it. The advantages of world-wide rules are patent, and it is highly probable that the legislation would be quickly accepted by the whole world. The class of subject referred to is: Domicile, Extradition, Criminal Detection, Copyright, Patents, Trade-marks and Designs, Marriage, Inheritance, Commercial Law, and International Evils, such as the White Slave Traffic and harmful drugs.

The World Parliament set up by the constitu-

tion would not have power to extend or alter its own powers under the constitution, these powers being derived from a specific transfer of sovereign rights from independent states, but constitutional changes could only be made by a fresh Constituent Assembly, the delegates to which would hold special mandates to amend the constitution.

COMMERCE AND TARIFFS

RESTRICTIVE commercial legislation and tariffs hold considerable possibilities of injustice and friction between nations, but it is difficult to give the World Parliament the power to make laws in such matters without unduly interfering with the freedom of independent countries.

It is possible, therefore, that tariff wars and boycotts would still break out, but such would not justify any reasonable man wanting to take up arms, and no doubt with the progress of mutual understanding between nations such troubles would become rarer and rarer. A special international commercial court should be constituted to arbitrate in tariff disputes and the like. This court would be guided in its decisions by considerations of reasonableness and fairness.

THE JUDICATURE

The judges who are to decide international disputes should be quite independent of the World Parliament as to their appointment, though power of dismissal in case of misconduct must be allowed. The best arrangement would seem to be that they should be appointed by the various independent states in proportion to population, it being understood that no judge should sit on a cause in which his own country is involved. The judges could sit in small courts of, say, three, an appeal lying to the full court. Appointments should be for life, and remuneration such as to secure the highest possible talent.

The courts would be guided in their judgment by the constitution drawn up by the Constituent Assembly, the laws passed from time to time by the World Parliament, by considerations of equity and natural right, and by their own past decisions.

There would soon grow up a full body of international law and a regular practice for the international courts.

The question of language is difficult. There would certainly have to be considerable latitude. Probably the adoption of Latin as an international language would be ideal, avoiding any risk of jealousy.

THE EXECUTIVE AND FEDERAL CAPITAL

The world confederacy would follow the example of smaller confederations, and would set aside a territory as a federal capital, which would be administered directly by the executive officers appointed by the World Parliament. Many towns might lay claim to be the capital of the world; by its position one of the most suitable would be Constantinople. The executive would include a chairman of the council of ministers and the ministers of international affairs, federal affairs, justice, finance, education, law, army, and marine. Each country would contribute a quota to the federal expenses.

THE ARMY AND NAVY

We have said that the laws of the World Parliament and the decisions of the federal courts must be enforced; it will therefore be necessary to maintain armed forces. A small force would be kept to protect the federal capital. As well as this, each country would be required to provide an army (and navy where the country has seaboard) of fixed size in proportion to its population, but of course on a far more modest scale than the present. These armies and navies would swear allegiance to the World Parliament, and would be under the joint control of local ministers and the federal ministers.

The equipment and arsenals would all be considered federal property. By raising the federal army on a national basis, the risk of the army and navy breaking loose from control and setting up a tyranny would be avoided.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS

The various independent states would maintain the full control of all their internal affairs. No attempt to impose a uniform constitution on all has been contemplated. Nevertheless, it is plain that a free democratic constitution is more than any other in line with the ideal at which we are aiming, and it is highly probable that if our object of stopping war is attained democratic institutions will gradually spread all over the world, and there seems good reason to suppose that women will be placed on the same footing in the state as men.

The happiness of mankind cannot be attained merely by passing resolutions. The federal constitution of the world which we have sketched could only be the outcome of a genuine belief in the brotherhood of man and the determination to end war. When attained it would only fulfil the negative part of our ideal, viz. the abolition of war—

the way thus made clear for the several states to engage in positive work for the well-being of their citizens without fear of external disturbance.

The Cretan in Plato's laws states his opinion that the whole aim and direction of his country's laws is fitness for war. When war has been eliminated what should be the aim of wise laws?

In all analyses of human aims we arrive at the *summum bonum* happiness, and the highest happiness can only be attained by the highest development.

When peace reigns on earth laws will be directed at the well-being and highest possible development of the citizen, morally, intellectually, and physically. When we consider how immensely the present condition of man falls short of the ideal we are able to imagine, we can grasp what a gigantic work of regeneration lies before all the countries of the world.

PHYSICAL WELL-BEING

HEALTH comes first,* and the wise state will strain every nerve to render its citizens healthy. First, it must secure them healthy dwellings and healthy conditions of life. If only the immense labour expended on the war could have been directed to town-planning and building, how much sweeter would have become the lives of myriads of men. In England a very great deal has been done by legislation to improve public health, and the vital statistics show what a large measure of success has been attained. The subject is too well understood for it to be necessary to enlarge upon it, and it is clear that a huge field of beneficent action lies open to every state in this direction.

Healthy citizens will not be obtained unless

* Ὑγιαίνειν μὲν ἄριστον ἀνδρί θνητῷ.—Simonides.

their health is looked after from birth. It will not be sufficient to build wholesome dwellings, but family life must be nurtured, for out of happy families come healthy and happy children. Then the health of the children must be watched at school, where, of course, there will be medical examination. Gymnastics and games must be cared for as much as studies, and must be continued when the children grow up into men and women. There will be no compulsory military training, but I think the wise state would have compulsory athletic training alike for youths and for maidens. The enormous value to health of open-air life and exercise has been made very evident by the extraordinary improvement in the appearance and bearing of callow youths from offices and workshops after a few months of military training. The pity of it to make them so fit in order to die. Let the wise state make its young people fit in order to live.

Great social evils, such as drink, drugs, and vice, which undermine the health of the people, must be fought down courageously.

MORAL WELL-BEING

How to make virtuous citizens is the great problem of all ideal republics, for the virtue of the citizens is the foundation of the state, alike in peace and war.

The same conditions in early infancy, childhood, and youth which tend to physical health also tend to moral health. I mean happy family life, sweet and beautiful surroundings, games, exercise, and discipline.

The whole conception of the new ordering of human life which we are trying to work out is based on mutual love. Therefore the teaching of unselfishness, love of others, and honest and loving mutual service must be the basis of all education. Fail in this and the whole structure falls to the ground. Such teaching must begin with birth and continue throughout life. Children must be taught

to know their immense debt to the men who have gone before (who have built up knowledge and civilisation step by step), and to realise their obligations to their contemporaries and their duty to those who are to come. They should be told how the food they eat, the house that shelters them, and the clothes they wear are all provided by the toil of others, and that they must show their gratitude by honestly and gladly doing their share of the world's work. They must be made familiar with the stories of the great men who have led forward the human race—the prophets, saints, philosophers, men of science, mathematicians, poets, painters, sculptors, statesmen, etc.—so that they may be fired with a generous enthusiasm and a longing to emulate what they admire. Soldiers, too, would be admired for their courage and self-sacrifice, but it would be taught that wars belonged to an earlier stage of human development.

Besides the direct teaching of parents and schoolmasters, it is the function of the artists to teach the citizens all through their lives. The

schools and public buildings should be decorated with paintings of noble men and women and great deeds. So should the parks and public places be adorned with sculpture and monuments. The great educative force of works of art cannot be exaggerated: it is akin to the power of advertisement, which is more generally recognised at present.

For one thing, every city should have its monuments to the brave who died in the great war, and thereon should be carved in clear lettering the treaty of peace and disarmament. So also the poets and writers, and above all the dramatists, will play an important part in the moral education of the people. The architects too, and the gardeners, and all those who labour to make the dwellings of man beautiful and to raise noble temples to God.

The critical age in education is the period at which most children now leave school and go to work. The notion of an incomplete and stunted education is foreign to our ideal. After leaving school the children should proceed to a university,

in which technical training in the trade they chose would be combined with the continuance of their general education and, of course, with athletic training.

On completion of the university course each youth and maiden should go through a period of physical training and public service analogous to military training in countries which have conscription. During this period it is preferable that all should continue to live in their own homes rather than to be herded together in barracks, though short periods of camping in the open would be very beneficial, and exceptions would, of course, be made in cases where public works had to be undertaken at a distance. This period of compulsory service is calculated to implant a healthy sense of discipline and civic duty in all classes. Public works of all kinds would be carried out.

The wise state would not neglect the due celebration of religious and secular festivals, both for the actual pleasure they give and for their educative value. International festivities should be

encouraged in every way, because they lead to better understanding and friendship between nations. Particularly valuable, also, are international conferences of those interested in special studies or objects.

INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION

"ALL men," says Aristotle, "by nature desire to know." The intellectual curiosity exists and only wants stimulation. The pursuit of knowledge is the highest pleasure of which men are capable, and is a thing desired for itself and not as a means to an end (though, of course, great practical results flow from it). The state that loves its children will desire to awaken their intellects and to give them every possible opportunity for intellectual pleasures. The aim of teaching, therefore, will not be the cramming of half-understood facts and symbols into the child's head, but to awaken the child's curiosity and thinking power. Sir Oliver Lodge has written a splendid guide for teaching mathematics, which adopts exactly the right standpoint. Instead of worrying the child with £ s. d. and the British weights and measures, which (though nearly as hard as higher mathematics) are

merely adventitious conventions of no intellectual value, importance is given to the real understanding of the relations of numbers. Once a child has intelligently mastered pure arithmetic he will soon grasp the practical applications which should be reserved for a later stage.

Education should in all cases be continued from school to university, and every opportunity should be given for men, however humble their position, to continue their studies in later life. This would be accomplished by the establishment of public lecture halls for lectures and discussions, libraries, laboratories, observatories, studios, music-rooms, etc.

ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

THERE remains the thorny problem of economic organisation, which is one of the principal sources of human troubles.

The main fact to be recognised is that mankind is in possession of knowledge and skill which render possible the production, without excessive labour, of all necessary material commodities far in excess of what are required not only for subsistence but even for a life of comfort for every single human being. It is therefore only a matter of good sense and organisation to banish want and economic anxiety. At the present moment, with practically the whole manhood of Europe engaged either in fighting or producing munitions, yet subsistence is maintained.

It is agreed that excessive wealth and luxury are pernicious to the individuals who enjoy them, as also are want and worry to those who endure them.

Therefore wise economic laws would aim first at securing a good subsistence for each citizen, and thereafter at diverting the surplus economic energy to public works, such as town-planning, public buildings, churches, reclamation of waste lands, afforestation, and scientific research and study of all kinds.

The countries at war are being more and more driven to social organisation for the purposes of war; and the enormous power of such organisation being demonstrated, it is almost certain to be continued after peace is made, for the reason that individual efforts will never be able to straighten out the economic confusion which will follow the termination of the war.

CONCLUSION

SEEING, then, before our eyes the lot of mankind what it is, full of the most terrible suffering and tears, and calling before our imagination what it might be—a joyous and glad life in this beautiful world—let us take courage to cast down the idols of our prejudices and work together with all our might and main to rebuild the temple of human hope on the unshakable foundation of love.

Never again let us, or those who come after us, see fair young bodies torn and rent with the hideous engines of war and grief weighing heavy on all the land. Never again let such agony be on the earth nor hate reign in the hearts of men. Let us shake off the heavy weight of armaments and preparations for war which threaten to become so grievous a burden as utterly to crush all liberty and joy of life and all hope of better things. Let us achieve the divine promise: Peace on Earth, Good Will among Men.

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